

Message Text

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S E C R E T GENEVA 9824

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FOR AMB SCHAUFLE FROM WISNER

DEPT PASS LONDON FOR SEITZ

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

SUBJ: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: DECEMBER 9 MEETING WITH
MUZOREWA

1. I CALLED ON BISHOP MUZOREWA AT HIS HOTEL
THE EVENING OF DECEMBER 9. THE BISHOP IS LEAVING
TOMORROW FOR SALISBURY, BUT PLANS TO RETURN TUESDAY
OR WEDNESDAY, DEPENDING ON AIRPLANE SCHEDULES. DURING
HIS STAY IN RHODESIA, HE WILL MEET WITH THE HEADS OF
HIS REGIONAL CHAPTERS AND HIS NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND
BRING THEM UP TO DATE ON WHERE MATTERS STAND AND TO SEEK
A RENEWED MANDATE. IF PROGRESS IN GENEVA IS NOT MADE
THIS WEEK, HE MIGHT CONTINUE IN RHODESIA AND NOT RETURN
BEFORE THE ADJOURNMENT.

2. THE BISHOP DID NOT SAY WHAT MANDATE HE NEEDED BUT
AT THE OUTSET OF THE CONVERSATION TOLD ME HIS PRO-
POSAL FOR ELECTIONS WAS RECEIVING NO SUPPORT FROM ANY
DELEGATION; ONLY SMITH HAS MAINTAINED A NEUTRAL POSTURE,
AND THAT, THE BISHOP POINTED OUT, "IS NOT HELPFUL."

3. WITH RESPECT TO ADJOURNMENT, THE BISHOP WOULD
PREFER A VERY BRIEF CHRISTMAS RECESS OF 5 TO 6 DAYS.
HE WOULD ACCEPT A TWO WEEK WORKING RECESS BUT HOPES
THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE PURSUED VIGOROUSLY

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DURING THAT RECESS. EVEN THOUGH "ALL RHODESIUCRIES

FOR A SETTLEMENT, AN END TO THE WAR AND I AM FLOODED WITH TELEGRAMS", THERE ARE MANY, THE BISHOP SAID, HERE WHO WANT TO DESTROY THE CONFERENCE AND MAKE SURE THE PARTIES DO NOT RETURN. THE RUSSIANS, HE SAID, ARE PRAYING FOR A FAILURE AND ARE MAKING THEIR VIEWS WELL-.,92,. AN ADJOURNMENT THAT LASTS MORE THAN TWO WEEKS WILL PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO SEEK THE CONFERENCE'S FAILURE.

4. GENEVA IS EXPENSIVE BUT THE BEST LOCATION FOR THE CONFERENCE. ANY AFRICAN SITE, THE BISHOP SAID, WOULD PROVIDE A FORUM FOR ADDITIONAL UNHELPFUL INFLUENCES. HE REGRETTED HAVING TO SAY THIS BUT THE COURSE OF THE CONFERENCE HAD PROVED HIS POINT.

5. MUZOREWA SAID THERE WERE RUMORS TO THE EFFECT THAT SMITH WOULD SEEK TO FIND A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT WITH "MODERATES" INSIDE RHODESIA. NO ONE IN HIS ANC SUPPORTED THIS APPROACH AND HE VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED IT. THE PRESSURE FOR A SETTLEMENT WITH AFRICAN MODERATES WAS COMING ONLY FROM THE WHITE SIDE. IF THE CONFERENCE FAILS, IT WOULD BE A TRAGEDY. RHODESIA WILL BE PLUNGED INTO NEW LEVELS OF WARFARE AND OVER TIME HE WILL BE FORCED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY BY THE RHODESIAN AUTHORITIES OR BY ACTS OF INTIMIDATION.

6. HE RECOGNIZED THAT SMITH NEEDED A "FACE SAVING DEVICE" AND HE UNDERSTOOD HOW MUCH DIFFICULTY SMITH AND HIS FOLLOWERS HAVE WITH A BRITISH PRESENCE. "WE USED TO THINK WE COULD SUBSTITUTE THE BRITISH FOR THE SETTLERS; NOW I KNOW THAT A SQUABBLE BETWEEN BROTHERS IS MOST BITTER." NEVERTHELESS, AN ACTIVE BRITISH RESUMPTION OF RESPONSIBILITIES IS THE ONLY WAY TO BREAK THE IMPASSE AND IN THIS REGARD, MUZOREWA REITERATED HIS DELEGATION'S POSITION THAT BRITAIN PROVIDE A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WHO COULD PLAY A BALANCING ROLE BETWEEN THE PARTIES AND CHAIR A NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL.CATTO

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